

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 OMB-01 /061 W

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R 280909Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1421

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 7490

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIO, SP

SUBJ: NEWSWEEK INTERVIEW WITH JUAN CARLOS

1. QUOTED BELOW IS THE TEXT OF AN INTERVIEW CONDUCTED WITH PRINCE JUAN CARLOS BY NEWSWEEK EDITOR, ARNAUD DE BORCHGRAVE. DE BORCHGRAVE, WHO PROVIDED THE TEXT, TOLD ME PRIVATELY THAT JUAN CARLOS HAD LONG PROMISED HIM AN INTERVIEW AND THAT HE HAD BEEN SUMMONED TO MADRID THE MIDDLE OF LAST WEEK TO CONDUCT IT. THE TEXT HAD BEEN FINALLY APPROVED ON THE MORNING OF OCT 25 FOR APPEARANCE IN THIS WEEK'S NEWSWEEK. ON THE EVENING OF OCTOBER 25, DE BORCHGRAVE HAD BEEN INFORMED BY THE PRINCE'S HOUSEHOLD THAT ON FURTHER THOUGHT IT HAD BEEN DECIDED THAT THE INTERVIEW COULD NOT BE AUTHORIZED AS IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE JUST AT THIS TIME WITH FRANCO'S DEATH IMMINENT.

2. DE BORCHGRAVE TOLD ME THAT IT, NEVERTHELESS, HAD BEEN AGREED THAT NEWSWEEK COULD DO AN ARTICLE IN WHICH IT WOULD BE STATED THAT DE BORCHGRAVE HAD LONG KNOWN THE PRINCE AND THAT HE HAD PUT DOWN HIS (DE BORCHGRAVE'S) THOUGHTS AS TO THE PRINCE'S VIEWS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. THE "THOUGHT" WOULD BE THE MATERIAL IN THE INTERVIEW, BUT NONE OF IT WOULD BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE PRINCE.

3. THE FULL TEXT OF THE INTERVIEW IS QUOTED BECAUSE IT DOES PROVIDE SOME INSIGHTS AS TO WHAT THE PRINCE HAD AT LEAST

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MOMENTARILY APPEARED READY TO HAVE ATTRIBUTED TO HIM. THE

CONTENTS OF THE INTERVIEW MAY HAVE BECOME KNOWN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REGIME WHICH THOUGH THE PRINCE WAS GOING TOO FAR TOO FAST.

BEGIN QUOTE:

QUESTION: WHAT ROLE DO YOU EXPECT TO PLAY AS THE NEW KING OF SPAIN?

ANSWER: I MUST MAKE CLEAR FROM THE VERY BEGINNING THAT I WILL NOT BE THE RULER OF SPAIN. THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE GOVERNING BUT NOT RULING AND I HOPE TO COUNSEL IT AND ORIENT ITS THRUST AND ITS ACTIONS. I WOULD LIKE TO BE THE SYMBOL OF NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION. I AM NOT A MAN OF THE RIGHT OR THE LEFT OR EVEN OF THE CENTER. I AM DETERMINED TO BE KING OF ALL THE PEOPLE, WHICH IN THIS DAY AND AGE MEANS A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION AND GUIDANCE. IT ALSO MEANS THAT I MUST REMAIN ABOVE PARTISAN POLITICS. THE RESTORATION OF REAL DEMOCRACY MUST BE OUR GOAL BUT I KNOW I SPEAK FOR THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF SPANISH PEOPLE WHEN I SAY THAT WE MUST SPARE NO EFFORT TO AVOID THE DISORDER AND CHAOS THAT HAS BEEN MISTAKEN FOR DEMOCRACY IN SOME COUNTRIES. WE MUST HAVE STRONG GOVERNMENT AND STRONG LEADERSHIP, ASSETS THAT WOULD SEEM TO BE IN SHORT SUPPLY IN SOME OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES NOW IN SERIOUS ECONOMIC TROUBLE. WITHOUT THEM, CIVIL LIBERTIES CANNOT BE GUARANTEED.

QUESTION: WHAT SORT OF GOVERNMENT WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE?

ANSWER: A BROAD COALITION OF NATIONAL UNITY, ONE THAT WOULD EMBRACE ALL SHADES OF OPINION, WITH THE EXCEPTION, OF COURSE, OF THE EXTREMISTS.

QUESTION: TALKING ABOUT THE EXTREMISTS, WHAT DO YOU FEEL SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT URBAN GUERRILLAS AND SECESSIONISM?

ANSWER: WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN REPRESSION BUT IN REFORM, NOT IN REVOLUTION BUT IN DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION. IN THIS NEW ERA WE WILL NOT MUDDLE THROUGH WITH WHAT HAS NOW BECOME INAPPROPRIATE. WE WILL FORGE AHEAD WITH A MODERN GOVERNMENT
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WHOSE TASK WILL BE TO SECURE OUR FUTURE, NOT PRESERVE THE PAST. BUT I DO NOT KNOW OF A SINGLE NATION IN THE WORLD -- WESTERN, EASTERN OR THIRD WORLD -- THAT CAN TOLERATE SECESSIONISM OR URBAN GUERRILLAS. TERRORISM AS PRACTISED IN SPAIN AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES, AS THE FRENCH PRIME MINISTER SAID RECENTLY, IS A WEAPON USED BY A MINORITY WHOSE IDEAS ARE NOT POWERFUL ENOUGH TO CONVINCE PUBLIC OPINION THROUGH LEGAL MEANS. ALL THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT SPECIFIC REGIONS CANNOT BE GIVEN MORE RES-

PONSIBILITY FOR THEIR OWN AFFAIRS UNDER AN OVERALL DECENTRAL-
IZATION PLAN. SPAIN IS TOO HIGHLY CENTRALIZED IN MADRID
AND THERE ARE UNDOUBTEDLY LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES. ND EVERYONE,
UNDERSTANDABLY, TENDS TO BLAME MADRID FOR EVERYTHING THAT DOES
WRONG. REGIONS, PROVINCES, CITIES, ALL MUST BE GIVEN
MORE RESPONSIBILITY TO RUN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS.

QUESTION: MANY SPANIARDS SAY THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY, WHILE
STILL UNDERGROUND, HAS BECOME THE BEST ORGANIZED POLITICAL
GROUP IN SPAIN. WOULD YOU FAVOR ITS LEGALIZATION AS IN
FRANCE AND ITALY?

ANSWER: WHEN YOU SEE WHAT THEY HAVE DONE NEXT DOOR AND WHAT
HAS HAPPENED TO ONE COUNTRY'S GREAT HOPE FOR A PLURALIST DEM-
OCRACY, THE ANSWER WOULD HAVE TO BE NEGATIVE. WE WANT TO
CREATE OUR OWN MODERN DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN. IT IS A VERY
DELICATE AND DIFFICULT POLITICAL PROCESS. HOW CAN THIS BE DONE
WITH PEOPLE WHOSE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY IS TOTALLY ALIEN TO THE
CONCEPT EVEN THOUGH THEY PAY LIP SERVICE TO IT?

QUESTION: BUT COULDN'T THE COMMUNISTS BECOME PART OF
THE LEGAL OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT IN POWER. AS THEY
WERE AUTHORIZED TO DO IN GREECE AFTER THE JUNTA?

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1422

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 7490

ANSWER: HOW CAN YOU BILD A VIABLE DEMOCRACY WITH
NON-DEMOCRATS? FIRST WE MUST ERECT A REAL DEMOCRACY WITH FIRM
FOUNDATIONS. SO THIS IS NOT A PERIOD FOR DEMANDS BUT FOR

NATIONAL UNITY. WE BELIEVE IN SPAIN'S DEMOCRATIC FUTURE. WE WANT TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES REGARDLESS OF THEIR POLITICAL SYSTEMS BUT I THINK ANY SENSIBLE PERSON WOULD HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE EASTERN COUNTRIES ARE HARDLY MODELS OF PLURALISM. WE SPANIARDS WILL TRY TO EMULATE WHAT IS BEST IN THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS OF OUR WESTERN PARTNERS AND AVOID THE PITFALLS BY DRAWING THE NECESSARY LESSONS FROM THEIR EXPERIENCE. THE BULLYING TACTICS OF A MINORITY -- AND THE ABUSE OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS -- ARE THE INGREDIENTS OF AN EXPLOSION, NOT OF A FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACY. IN SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES, TALK IS STILL REGARDED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR SUBSTANCE AND POLITICAL PROGRAMS ARE LOSING THEIR MEANING BECAUSE THEY CANNOT BE PUT INTO EFFECT. THIS, IN TURN, BREEDS CYNICISM AND UNPREDICABILITY AMONG THE ELECTORATE. FREEDOM IS A WORD THAT HAS INSPIRED MANKIND THROUGH THE AGES. BUT EVERY FREEDOM, BY DEFINITION, HAS ITS LIMITS, OTHERWISE IT WOULD NOT BTLA FREEDOM.

QUESTION: WHY DIDN'T YOU SPEAK OUT IN RECENT WEEKS, AS SOME PEOPLE WERE URGING YOU TO DO?

ANSWER: FOR THE SAME REASON THAT I DECLINED SUGGESTIONS DURING THE PAST WEEK THAT I SHOULD INSIST WITH THE HEAD OF STATE
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FOR AN IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER. I AM DETERMINED TO ACT LEGALLY AND CONSTITUTIONALLY UNDER ALL AND ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. SPEAKING OUT, AS YOU PUT IT, WOULD HAVE HINDERED THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS AND WOULD HAVE MADE THE TRANSITION MORE DIFFICUTL. I HAVE NEVER BEEN ANYONE'S MAN. I AM MY OWN MAN WITH MY OWN IDEAS ON THE FUTURE OF SPAIN. AND I DID NOT AGREE WITH FOREIGN CRITICIMS OF WHAT HAPPENED IN SPAIN IN RECENT WEEKS. THERE WERE MANY CROCODILE TEARS AMONG THE PETITIONS, PROTESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, MOST OF THEM INSPIRED BY THE EXTREME LEFT, INTERESTED IN POLARIZING THE SPANISH SITUATION. I WILL LEAVE TO YOUR IMAGINATION HOW SOME OF THE EASTERN COUNTREIES THAT DENOUNCED US DEAL WITH URBAN GUERRILLAS WHO KILL POLICEMEN IN COLD BLOOD. ONE OF THE TERRORIST GROUPS IN SPAIN ORDERS ITS KILLERS TO SHOOT ANYONE CONNECTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT. THE OUTCRY WAS MORE POLITICAL THAN MORAL AND WAS PRIMARILY INSPIRED BY PEOPLE WHO HAVE NEVER PROTESTED AGAINST INFRINGEMENTS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN EASTERN COUNTRIES. ANY CASUAL OBSERVER OF THE SPANISH SCENE WOULD HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THAT AS WE EMBARK ON THE LIBERALIZATION OF OUR POLITICAL PROCESS THERE HAS BEEN MORE FREEDOM, MORE DIGNITY AND MORE PROSPERITY AND MORE HOPE FOR CHANGE THAN IN ANY OF THE NON-DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES.

QUESTION: SOME OBSERVERS FEAR THAT YOU WILL BECOME A CAPTIVE OF THE SPANISH ARMED FORCES, RESPONSIBLE TO THEIR POLITICAL

DEMANDS?

ANSWER: AS AN OFFICER OF THE THREE ARMED SERVICES, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THESE FEARS ARE GOUNDLESS AND ARE BASED ON A MISREADING OF OUR ARMED FORCES WHICH ARE ANXIOUS TO REMAIN A-POLITICAL. THEY ARE MEN OF HONOR AND THEIR ONLY AMBITION IS TO DEFEND OUR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND TO DEVELOP INTO A MODERN, TECHNOLOGICALLY-MINDED ARMY. THEY ARE COURAGEOUS, HEALTHY AND UNITED. THEY HAVE NO DESIRE TO GET INVOLVED IN POLITICS. ALL MY PERMANENT CONTACTS WITH THEM HAVE MADE THIS POINT CRYSTAL CLEAR.

QUESTION: WHAT ABOUT THE ILLEGAL DEMOCRATIC MILITARY UNION WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES? AREN'T THEY TRYING TO EMULATE THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT IN PORTUGAL?

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ANSWER: A FEW MISGUIDED PEOPLE, INFLUENCED BY FOREIGN PROPAGANDA, HAVE TRIED TO UNDERMINE THE UNITY OF THE ARMY BUT THEY HAVE FAILED.

QUESTION: WILL THE PRESENT POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS EVOLVE INTO GENUINE PARTIES AND HOW MANY OF THEM DO YOU FEEL SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED?

ANSWER: THE QUESTION IS PREMATURE BUT JUDGING FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF OUR EUROPEAN NEIGHBORS, THREE OR FOUR CHANNELS OF POLITICAL EXPRESSION WOULD BE IDEAL. MORE THAN THAT TENDS TO DISSIPATE ENERGIES AND GENERATES POLITICAL CHAOS. IT WOULD ALSO MAKE FOR A DISORDERLY RATHER THAN ORDERLY TRANSITION.

QUESTION: WHAT DO YOU PLAN TO DO TO GET YOUR RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF WEST EUROPE BACK ON TRACK?

ANSWER: WE ARE EAGER AND ANXIOUS TO JOIN THE RANKS OF THE GREAT WESTERN ALLIANCE IN THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM AND TO LINK OUR EFFORTS WITH WESTERN EUROPE'S DEMOCRACIES IN THE MOST IMPORTANT ENDEAVOR OF OUR AGE -- THE UNIFICATION OF OUR CONTINENT. THE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS MUST ALSO WORK OUT A LONG-RANGE ECONOMIC SURVIVAL STRATEGY AND PUT AN END TO THE ILLUSORY HOPE OF BEING ABLE TO SHIFT ONE'S OWN TROUBLES ONTO OTHERS. AND THE ONLY WAY WESTERN COUNTRIES CAN SAFEGUARD THEIR ECONOMIC INTERESTS IS THROUGH FAR-SIGHTED INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS THAT WILL ALSO SATISFY THE REALISTIC ASPIRATIONS OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. NEW RULES FOR INTERNATONAL TRADE IN VITAL RAW MATERIALS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED AND SPAIN STANDS READY TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE.

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK THE EXTREME RIGHT WILL TRY TO BLOCK

THE DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION OF SPAIN?

ANSWER: THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE ARE
MODERATES AND OPEN-MINDED AND I SEE NO RIS OF INTERFERENCE
AGAINST WHAT WILL BE A GREAT EFFORT OF NATIONAL UNITY.
END QUOTE.
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